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CHRISTIAN NEWS FROM ISRAEL

JERUSALEM

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VOL. XI No. 4
DECEMBER 1960

EDITED BY DR CH. WARDI

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL
MINISTRY FOR RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

CONTENTS

Chronicle of Events 3

The Codex of Ben Asher
By Izhak Ben-Zvi, President of Israel 10

Caesarea Maritima
By A. Negev, M.A. 17

The Church of the Nazarene in Israel
By The Rev. Alexander Wachtel, Th.M. 23

In Quest of a Tomb
By Dr Ch. Wardi 25

Reviews of Books:
"Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus IX (1958-1959)"
By David Flusser, The Hebrew University 30

Clemens Kopp: "Die Heiligen Stätten der Evangelien"
By Shimon Appelbaum 33

"Nea Sion 1959"
By Abbé Adolphe Viseur 36

Index of Volume XI (1960) 38

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

THE NEW CHURCH OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN NAZARETH

On 5 October, the Rev. Father Lodovico Cigliano, Superior of the *Terra Sancta* monastery of Nazareth, and Signor Giovanni Muzio, Professor of Architecture and Town Planning at the University of Milan, disclosed at a press conference held in Nazareth that work on the new church of the Annunciation would begin that month and that the work of construction would be carried out by *Solel Boneh*, the Labour Federation's building corporation. Labour and material will be entirely local, while for the work of decoration (sculptures, paintings, mosaics), artists from all over the world will be eligible.

It may be recalled that the new church is being built on the site of the old structures, according to plans prepared by Prof. G. Muzio, who has already acquainted readers of this journal with his designs in an article published in Vol. X, no. 3–4, pp. 26–31.

UJA STUDY MISSION RECEIVED BY THE POPE

On 19 October, a United Jewish Appeal Study Mission, composed of 125 members from the US and led by Rabbi H. Friedman and Mr B. Swig, arrived in Israel for a 13-day tour of the country, after a visit to Rome, where they had been received in audience by His Holiness Pope John XXIII. *L'Osservatore Romano* (19 October) reported that the Pope received the delegation most cordially in the papal Throne Room. In the course of the hour-long interview, Rabbi Friedman reconfirmed the appreciation of the Jewish Communities for the outstanding role played by the Church in saving Jews during the Hitler terror and recalled especially the help extended by the Pope himself when he was Apostolic Delegate in Turkey. In his reply, Pope John, visibly moved, remarked that in the presence of Jews he often felt like Joseph receiving his brothers in Egypt. At first, Joseph withheld the fact of his kinship, but then, unable to restrain the impulse of his heart, he exclaimed, "I am Joseph, your brother."

VISITORS FROM GEORGIA

On 24 October, a group of three Georgian scholars sent by the USSR Academy of Sciences arrived in Jerusalem for a three-week study of Georgian relics and antiquities. The group was composed of Irakli Abashidze, first secretary of the Union of Georgian Soviet Writers, and Akaki Shanidze and Giorgi Tseret'eli, professors of the Tbilisi University and members of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. The visitors evinced particular interest in the frescoes and inscriptions of the monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem. With the permission of the Greek Orthodox authorities, they removed the modern coat of paint covering the portrait of Shota Rustveli and had a number of photographs made of it. Apparently no replica of this portrait was hitherto available in Georgia, or anywhere in Russia.

While in the capital, the delegation was received by President Ben-Zvi. The members also met scholars of the Hebrew University, the Ben-Zvi Institute and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The delegation presented to the Ben-Zvi Institute a microfilm of the so-called Lylash Hebrew Bible, a manuscript prepared between the 10th and 13th centuries. (See article on page 25).

MEMBER OF DUTCH UNDERGROUND LECTURING IN ISRAEL

On 25 October, Miss Corrie Ten Boom, a former member of the Dutch Underground who saved many Jews during World War II, arrived in Israel for a three-month visit. Miss Ten Boom, who is now engaged in travelling, writing and lecturing, met some of the people whom she had sheltered and helped to escape from Nazi-occupied Holland. While in Jerusalem, she gave three lectures at the YMCA. She also spoke in Jaffa, Haifa and Nazareth.

AN ARCHBISHOP TO TAKE UP RESIDENCE AT MONASTERY *AD COENACULUM*

On 27 October, His Exc. Mgr Domenico Capozi arrived in Israel to take up residence at the newly-reopened Franciscan monastery *ad coenaculum* on Mt Zion. Mgr Capozi, from the Roman Province of the Franciscans, is the Archbishop-in-exile of Taiwan (China), where he spent most of his life as a missionary. Several other friars will eventually reside at the monastery with him.

ANGLICAN CENTER OF CHRISTIAN STUDIES IN THE OLD CITY

In October, the Most Rev. A. C. MacInnes, Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, announced in London that a centre for theological study would soon be inaugurated on the premises of the Cathedral of St George in the Old City. The college will offer courses in biblical, pre- and post-biblical archaeology, historical geography, oecumenism, inter-church relations, Near Eastern languages, Islamics and liturgies. It will be open to ordination candidates throughout the archbishopric and elsewhere, who will come to Jerusalem for all or part of their training; to priests and theological students; and to scholars and theologians engaged in special research.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

On 1 November, the Annual Conference of the United Christian Council of Israel was opened at the Church of Scotland Center in Tiberias. The inaugural service was conducted by the Rev. J. M. Snoek; the sermon was delivered by the Most Reverend Dr. A. C. MacInnes, Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem. A reception followed, in the course of which Dr. S. Colbi, Director of the Department for Christian Communities, conveyed the greetings of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

WORLD WEEK OF PRAYER AT YMCA

On 13 November, the 93rd annual Week of Prayer and World Fellowship at the Jerusalem YMCA was opened with a special Sunday evening Christian Fellowship Service. The theme this year was "God Calls You". Services were held each evening except Saturday and were concluded on Sunday the 20th. Local clergy assisted in the conducting of these services, which were open to "Y" members and to the general public.

COMMEMORATION OF JAMES ARMINIUS

On 17 November, a commemoration of James Arminius (1560–1609), the Dutch reformer and promoter of religious tolerance, took place in Jerusalem at the Church of the Nazarene, on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the reformer's birth and the 50th anniversary of the Church's foundation. Arminius, who conceptually derives from Erasmus, exercized considerable influence upon John Wesley, whose theology and fundamental tenets are followed by the Church of the Nazarene.

The commemoration was conducted by the Rev. Alexander Wachtel, Superintendent of the Nazarenes in Israel, and included a short appreciation of Arminius' contribution to the development of the idea and

practice of tolerance in Europe by Dr Ch. Wardi, the Israel Counsellor on Christian Affairs.

DAY OF ST MICHAEL AND ST GABRIEL IN JAFFA

On 21 November (8 November, old style), the Feast of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, a solemn liturgy was performed at the Greek Orthodox church of the Archangels in Jaffa. His Grace Kyr Isidoros, Metropolitan of Nazareth, who came for the occasion from Galilee, was chief celebrant; he was assisted by several Greek and Russian archimandrites and deacons. Among those present in the large audience were the Greek Consul in Jaffa and Government officials. The ceremony was followed by a reception tendered by Archimandrite Gregorios, Superior of the Greek Orthodox monastery in Jaffa.

PRAYER FOR WORLD PEACE ON MT ZION

On 22 November, a prayer for world peace was offered on Mt Zion in the presence of the 33 delegations to the 15th Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), which was held in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem from 16 to 23 November. The delegates and their wives (numbering 677 persons) included representatives from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Western Hemisphere. They were led by their Honorary President, Prof. J. P. Oud, Mayor of Rotterdam, and by the newly-elected President of IULA, Mr A.O.N. Spinoy, Mayor of Malines (Belgium).

The large party was greeted by Dr S. Z. Kahana, Director-General of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Psalm 15 was then read, followed by a solemn prayer for world peace, recited by Rabbi M. Hakohen. The guests thereafter made a tour of Mt Zion, visiting the *Coenaculum,* the church of the Dormition, the Tomb of King David, and the Cellars of the Holocaust.

THE FEAST OF THE POPE

On 27 November, Catholics in Israel commemorated the 79th birthday of Pope John XXIII and the second anniversary of his enthronement. Special services were held in the church of St Elias on Mt Carmel in Haifa, presided over by His Exc. Mgr George Hakim, Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee. The Israel Broadcasting Corporation, "Kol Israel", relayed the service over its network. Special prayers were also offered for

the intention of the Holy Father at the parish church of *Terra Sancta* in Jerusalem and at St Anthony's in Jaffa.

VISIT OF ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

On 27 November, His Grace Dr Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, crossed from Jordan to Israel for a short informal visit. He was accompanied by the Most Rev. Campbell MacInnes, Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, and by the Rev. F. S. Temple, senior chaplain and the Rev. S. R. Satterthwaite, secretary of the Council on Inter-Church Relations. His Grace was greeted at the Mandelbaum Pass by the District Commissioner and senior officials of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. After courtesy calls on the District Commissioner and the Mayor, and to the Chief Rabbinate, Dr. Fisher lunched with the British Ambassador and several Jerusalem personalities, including senior officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He then visited the Hebrew University and Ain Karem, and attended a tea party given by Archbishop MacInnes at the home of Canon and Mrs H. R. A. Jones. In the evening, His Grace was preacher at a service held at the church of St Paul, beginning his sermon with a quotation from the book of "The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness", one of the Dead Sea scrolls he had seen earlier in the day at the University.

On the following morning, Dr Fisher left the Old City of Jerusalem for Istanbul, where he visited the Oecumenical Patriarch. From there he travelled to Rome, to meet Pope John XXIII.

CONSULAR MASS AT THE BASILICA OF ST SAVIOUR

On 2 December, a consular mass took place at the 12th century Basilica of St Saviour of Qaryet el-Enab (Abu Ghosh), just west of Jerusalem. The mass was celebrated by the Rev. Father Lucien Laurent, Superior of *Notre Dame de France,* who was assisted by the Rev. Fathers Joseph Stiassny, Superior of *St Pierre de Sion,* and Jacques Meysing, OSB. Baron Christian de Sainte-Marie, Consul-General of France in Jerusalem, received the liturgical honours. Members of the French consular staff, representatives of the Catholic clergy in Jerusalem, UN Observers, Arab dignitaries of Abu Ghosh, the District Commissioner and officials of the Ministry of Religious Affairs were among the Congregation.

The church, one of the most beautiful in the country, has now been made easily accessible, thanks to an asphalt road built by the Government Tourist Corporation.

FOURTH CENTENARY OF THE MONASTERY OF ST SAVIOUR

On 8 December, the Custody of the Holy Land celebrated the 400th anniversary of the establishment of its headquarters in the monastery of St Saviour in the Old City of Jerusalem. On the occasion, a letter from the Pope was received by the Minister-General of the Friars Minor, in which the great achievements of the Custody and its contribution to the enhancement of the Church's influence in this part of the world were acknowledged. His Holiness also noted the growing needs of the Custody, announcing that he had confirmed the dispositions of Popes Leo XII and Benedict XV, according to which at least once a year (preferably on Good Friday) the need of the Holy Places are to be recommended to the charity of the faithful in the parish churches of all dioceses.

It may be recalled that, in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Franciscans of Palestine inhabited the building of the *Coenaculum*. In 1527, under the pretext that beneath the Chamber of the Last Supper was the tomb of King David, the friars were forced to surrender part of the monastery to the Moslems. In 1551, they were entirely evicted from Mt Zion and took up residence within the walls of the city. In 1560, they succeeded in purchasing the old Georgian monastery of St John the Evangelist, which they gradually rebuilt and transformed. Since then it has been known as the monastery of St Saviour and has served as the headquarters of the Custody of the Holy Land.

LATIN PATRIARCH TO SERVE ON PONTIFICAL CENTRAL COMMISSION

On 11 December, *L'Osservatore Romano* disclosed that His Beatitude Mgr Alberto Gori, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, had been appointed by Pope John XXIII to serve as a member of the Pontifical Central Preparatory Commission of the Second Vatican Oecumenical Council.

The Rev. Dr G. Kaldany, Patriarchal Deputy Vicar-General, has recently returned from Rome, where he attended the inaugural and first sessions of the Commission of Oriental Churches for the preparation of the Second Vatican Council.

MASS FOR KING BAUDOUIN'S MARRIAGE

On 18 December, a solemn mass was celebrated at the Latin church of Haifa for the intention of the marriage of His Majesty King Baudouin of Belgium to Princess Fabiola de Mora y Aragon, which had taken place on 15 December in Brussels. The ceremony was conducted by His Exc. Mgr Piergiorgio Chiappero, Latin Patriarchal Vicar-General in Israel, in

the presence of His Exc. M. Jean Leroy, Ambassador of Belgium in Israel, and Mr Aaron Rosenfeld, Honorary Consul of Belgium in Haifa. Among those attending were the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee, the consular corps, representatives of the clergy, municipal and Government officials.

Receptions in honour of the King's wedding were given by the Ambassador in Tel Aviv, the Consul-General in Jerusalem and the Honorary Consul in Haifa.

RUSSIAN PATRIARCHAL PARTY IN JERUSALEM

On 19 December, 10 members of Patriarch Alexi's party, then visiting the Old City, came through Mandelbaum Pass for a visit in Jewish Jerusalem. The delegation was led by Archbishop Pitirim, Metropolitan of Krutitzy, and comprised also Bishop Nicodim, Head of the Department for External Relations, Prof. Nicolai Ouspienski, Director of the Leningrad Theological Academy, Mr Ivan Varlamov, Chief of Protocol of the Patriarchate, and several archimandrites and priests. The party was welcomed by senior officials of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

A liturgy was celebrated at the *sobor*. It was followed by a luncheon on the premises of the Moscow Patriarchal Mission in Jerusalem, during which a message of greetings was read by Metropolitan Nicodim. He reported that in view of the outstanding services rendered by the Mission in this country, the Patriarch has conferred on its Head the privilege of henceforward performing the liturgy with the Royal Gate open (a prerogative of clergy with episcopal rank).

In the afternoon the visitors toured the city and its environs, and in the evening they attended a reception given in their honour by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

THE CODEX OF BEN ASHER

by Izhak Ben-Zvi, President of Israel

The United Nations Resolution in favour of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine was followed by a wave of anti-Jewish riots in the neighbouring countries. In attacks by mobs on ancient places of worship, the Old Synagogue at Aleppo, traditionally identified with the biblical Aram-Zobah, suffered especially severe damage. Great, therefore, was the apprehension felt for the safety of the historic *keter torah* (Bible codex; lit. "Crown of the Law") which, collated and pointed in Palestine more than a thousand years ago by Aaron Ben Asher, had been preserved in this synagogue. After numerous investigations and enquiries, it transpired that, though desecrated and damaged, the major part of this venerable manuscript had been rescued and was hidden away. It is my privilege and pleasure to inform the world of biblical scholarship that this precious manuscript has been found and is now in safe keeping.

The codex has held the interest of students of the Bible for the past hundred years. Jewish and non-Jewish scholars have travelled great distances in order to see and use it, though for the most part without success. What then is its special importance? First of all, it was one of the

The Hebrew University has embarked on a project to publish a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, with all the ancient versions, and with the ancient translations rendered into Hebrew. This immense project, which is being carried out by an editorial board headed by Dr Goshen-Gottstein, will doubtless take decades to complete. As the work progresses, researches in connection with it will be published. The initial publications are a journal in Hebrew, and *Textus* (English), the first international periodical devoted exclusively to the study of the Bible text. The article printed here is based on the writer's fuller essay in the opening issue of *Textus* (Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1960).

oldest complete texts of the Hebrew Bible extant. But even its antiquity is less important than its having been pointed, collated and provided with a *massorah* by one of the most outstanding Massoretes, Aaron Ben Asher, who made a detailed study of all contemporary manuscripts of the Old Testament and devoted his life to establishing the correct text.

Many such great codices are known to us. In former generations, the most important and most ancient of them were found mainly in the Oriental Jewish communities in Palestine, Syria and Egypt, but not many have survived to the present day. Written on parchment, they usually contained only the Old Testament without Targum and commentaries, though in a few the Targum appears after each verse of the Bible text. The text itself is framed by the Massorah; it is written on both sides of the parchment and bound in book form (and called *keter torah*), not in scrolls like a *sefer torah*. In the more ancient codices there are three columns to a page, while the later ones have only two. In both, the books of Job, Proverbs, Psalms and other poetical passages are written in two columns.

Unfortunately, we possess no exact description of the complete Aleppo MS under discussion, since the scholars who endeavoured to examine it were not permitted to photograph it. Now at last we can give a description of the manuscript from what remains of it. The codex of Aleppo contained all the books of the Old Testament. On each page there are the three traditional columns except, as mentioned, for the books of Job, Proverbs and Psalms and other poetical passages. Every column contains 28 lines, and each folio is 33 x 26.5 cm. As a result of the violence done to the *keter* during the rioting, about one quarter of it is missing, so that today it contains only 294 folios out of the presumed original number of about 380. The books of Obadiah, Jonah, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel and Ezra are entirely lacking.

In the codex, the books of the OT were arranged in a different order from that laid down by the sages of the Talmud (*Bava Batra* 14b). What is still more significant is that its order is the same as that of the Leningrad MS B. 19, written in 1008 (almost at the same time as the Aleppo codex) and also pointed according to Ben Asher.

The Jews of Aleppo believed that this *keter torah* was written by Ezra the Scribe himself. This tradition is an expression of the special awe felt by the community for this book, which no ordinary man dared look upon. At the beginning and end of the book were recorded the date it was written and its subsequent fortunes. These sections have, unfortunately,

been lost, and all that has come down to us are copies, most of them inaccurate, made at various times. An exception is the copy of R. Meir Nehmad of Aleppo, printed in his booklet, *A Research Essay on the Valuable Keter Known as "The Keter of Damascus"* (1933).

The colophon, written at least one hundred years after the manuscript, makes it clear that this codex was copied out by the scribe Solomon Ben Buyã'ã, a member of a well-known family of copyists. Where and when he copied it out is uncertain. What is known is that in the town of Čufut-Kale ("Jew's Rock"), in the Crimea, there was a copy of the Pentateuch written by the same scribe. In another colophon of the same manuscript, there are data which provide us with information about R. Solomon ben Buyã'ã. The text was pointed and provided with a Massorah by another member of the same family, R. Ephraim ben Buyã'ã.

We can derive the following conclusions from the available information: a) The copyist of the Čufut-Kale manuscript used to copy out the Hebrew text, leaving the pointing, accents and Massorah to be added by a specialist in those matters. b)The vocaliser no doubt finished his work in 930 CE, a few years after the scribe had copied the text. c) It would appear that the Aleppo codex was copied before that of Čufut-Kale, since the vocalizer of the Aleppo codex was Ben Asher (who had perhaps died in the meantime) while in the Čufut-Kale Codex it was a relative of the scribe. From this we may draw the important inference that the Aleppo codex was probably written at the end of the 9th century, at any rate not later than the year 910.

These colophons can also provide a solution to an important question which has greatly exercised the minds of scholars, namely whether the Aleppo codex is of Karaite or Rabbanite origin. The colophons leave no room for further doubt that the family of Buyã'ã were all Rabbanites. As a general rule the Rabbanites, being the majority, did not go out of their way to proclaim their identity; therefore, any text of the OT which contains no specific indication of its being Karaite may be presumed to be Rabbanite. In the colophons under discussion, there is no reference to *ba'alei mikra* or other distinctively Karaite features, as would certainly be found in a Karaite manuscript since the Karaites never missed an opportunity to proclaim their sectarian allegiance.

As to where the manuscript was written, we apparently have to fall back on conjecture. Here two facts may provide us with a clue. In the colophons, frequent mention is made of Jerusalem and its restoration;

and shortly after it had been written, the codex was, as we shall see below, in Jerusalem. Hence we may assume that the family of Buyã'ã lived in Palestine, probably in Jeruscalem itself or in Tiberias.

Scholarly opinion is also divided on the denomination of the author of the Massorah and the pointing of our codex—"Master (*mar*) Rab Aaron the son of Master Rab Asher". Suffice it here to say that I accept the conclusion of A. Dotan[1] that Ben Asher was not a Karaite. This conclusion is confirmed by what I have already said above and the further evidence below.

Since the original colophons of the copyist and vocalizer are not extant, we do not know for whom the *keter* was written. The first piece of information we have is that, many years after it had been written, it was purchased by "Prince" (*sar*) Israel Ben Simha, a Karaite from Basra, who presented it to the Karaite synagogue in Jerusalem, entrusting it to the keeping of the two great presidents (*nesi'im*) Josiah and Hezekiah. Since we know that Hezekiah was alive in 1064, it follows that the codex came into the hands of the Karaites only in the 11th century. We know that it was common for non-Karaite scribes to sell texts of the Bible to Karaites. Even the *mikdashyah* in the Karaite synagogue in Jerusalem was undoubtedly of Rabbanite origin. In general, the relations between Rabbanites and Karaites were, at that time, far less strained than in later generations.[2]

The *keter* did not remain in Jerusalem long. In 1071, after the sack of the Holy City by the Seljuks, it was carried off to Egypt as part of the booty.[3] It was ransomed by the Jewish community and placed in the (Rabbanite) Synagogue of the Jerusalemites in Cairo. Shortly afterwards, Maimonides saw the code in Egypt, and he says of it: "This book was referred to by all as an authority for the correct text, since it was collated by Ben Asher, who worked on it for many years and collated it many times. It has been my own authority in the correct Torah scroll which I have written" (*Code, Hilkhot Sefer Torah,* viii).

1 "Was Ben Asher really a Karaite?" (Hebrew), Sinai 41 (1957) pp. 280-312, 350-362.

2 See I. Ben-Zvi, "The Jerusalem *mikdashya",* in the Hebrew Memorial Volume for R. Abraham Isaac Kook, Jerusalem 1937 pp. 556-8; id., Hebrew article in *Kiriat Sefer* 32 (1957) p. 366.

3 Kahle maintains that the codex was carried off to Egypt by the Crusaders in 1099 and returned to Jerusalem in 1105. Cf. *Masoretten des Westens,* I. Stuttgart 1927, pp. 9-11.

When was the *keter* removed from Egypt to Aleppo? The most likely time would seem to be the end of the 14th century. We know that in 1375 R. David Hanagid (the great-great-great-grandson of Maimonides) went to Syria from Egypt via Palestine. He settled first in Damascus and then in Aleppo, where he apparently remained until his death (c. 1419). He took with him many manuscripts, including the commentary of Maimonides to the Mishna in the author's own hand,[4] and it is quite possible that among them was the codex of Ben Asher which his ancestor had used as his authority. Or else it may have been brought by one of two other scholars who moved to Aleppo in the same period. In any case, we know that the codex was in Aleppo before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Saadiah ben David of Aden, who visited Aleppo, no doubt in the course of his pilgrimage to Safad, before the year 1478-9, mentions it in his commentary to *Seder Ahabah* of Maimonides' *Code*, a manuscript of which is in the Bodleian Library: "The book which the Gaon of blessed memory used as his authority is still today in the town of Zobah, i.e. Aleppo, and is called 'the Crown'. It is written on parchment with three columns of writing to every page. At the end is written: 'I, Aharon ben Asher, collated it, etc.'."[5]

Less than a hundred years later, one of the most famous scholars of Safad, R. Joseph Ashkenazi "the Tannaite", declares that he, too, consulted the codex of Ben Asher in Aleppo on the subject of the open and closed paragraphs of the Law.

Some time before 1753, an English traveller, Alexander Russell, was allowed to see the codex. In the record of his travels (*The Natural History of Aleppo,* second edition, London, 1794), Russell devoted a whole chapter to the Jews and their customs. At the end (Vol. II, pp. 59, 399) he refers to the ancient manuscript which was kept in the Old Synagogue in Aleppo and which the Jews there believed to date from the time of the Second Temple:

> "They have one synagogue, situated in what is called the Jews' Street, where a manuscript of the Old Testament is preserved, which, as they pretend, is of very high antiquity.
>
> "(Note) The Jews assign two reasons for ascribing such high antiquity to the M.S. Bible preserved in the synagogue at Aleppo. The

[4] S. David Sassoon, *Introduction to Maimonides' Commentary to the Mishnah,* photostat edn., Copenhagen 1956, pp. 29-30.

[5] Quoted by S. Assaf, *Kiriath Sefer,* 22 (1946) p. 241.

one, the concurrent tradition of their Rabbis, and their submission to its authority in the various readings of disputed passages: they produce instances of deputations sent from Europe on purpose to consult it. The other that at the end of the M.S. there is a prayer for the preservation of the Temple: whence they conclude it must have been written before the expedition of Titus; because after that period, their prayers were offered up for the restauration, not preservation of the Temple of Jerusalem. A specimen of this M.S. was transmitted to Dr Kennicot, who did not find reason to ascribe such high antiquity to it as the Jews do."

The *keter* was kept in one of the seven "shrines" of the Old Synagogue. There is extant a description of this repository written in the year 1847-8 by one of the scholars of Aleppo, R. Abraham the son of R. Isaiah Dayan. He writes as follows: "In the shrine on the south-eastern side there is a niche containing four Crowns of the Law, some being texts of the whole Bible, some only of the Pentateuch, and on one of them it is written that it was found among the booty taken from Jerusalem (may it be rebuilt and restored!). There is no date on them, but they appear to be ancient. He who takes an oath by the Law swears there upon the codices."

Subsequently, the codex was removed from this shrine. Rabbi Isaac Sh'heybar, one of the scholars of Aleppo (now living in Buenos Aires), has given me the following information about it by letter: "It stood in a wooden case in a corner of the oil store of the Great synagogue, and no Jew had the presumption to go near it. Thus its great sanctity in the eyes of the masses preserved it intact all the time. Eventually, however, there was a fire in the oil store and it was saved from destruction only by a miracle. In addition some suspicious-looking people in the guise of tourists and scholars came from various countries to look at the book, and the members of the community feared that they would steal or photograph it. For these reasons they decided in recent years to make a special iron box for it, and they put it in this box with the other manuscripts of the Bible that were kept in the synagogue. There were two keys to this box. Both of them were not given even to the most trusted superintendant, but one key was given to each of two wealthy and important members of the community, so that the box could only be opened in the presence of both of them together and under the supervision of the council of the congregation. The box was placed on a large stone slab in the cave of Elijah the Prophet in the Great Syna-

gogue and all the congregation regard the place where it stands with awe and reverence."[6]

The special sanctity attaching to the *keter* goes back no further than to the time when it was placed in the Cave of Elijah. Shortly afterwards, the Jewish masses had forgotten the source of the cave's sanctity and attributed it to the codex.

We know from the report of R. Abraham Dayan that a hundred years ago the Jews of Aleppo used still to prostrate themselves in worship and light candles not to the codex, which was then in another place, but the Prophet Elijah. R. Solomon Laniado did not regard the codex as particularly holy, nor did he attribute it to Ezra the Scribe; he simply writes that his contemporaries used to swear upon it.

Our manuscript was transferred to the Cave of Elijah after 1850 and before 1899, since in the latter year the collector Elhanan Nathan Adler from London, on a visit to Aleppo, already found it in the cave.

The last person to see the *keter torah* of Ben Asher in its entirety and to note down particulars about its contents was the late Prof. M.D. Cassuto. Following the decision of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to publish a scientific edition of the Hebrew Bible, Prof. Cassuto travelled to Aleppo for the specific purpose of examining the codex of Ben Asher. Unfortunately, the Aleppo congregation did not permit him to spend more than a few days there. He thought of basing his Hebrew text on this manuscript, and later, when he heard of the fire in the Aleppo Great Synagogue, he lamented the destruction (as he thought) of the codex in a special article. It is our hope that what was denied this scholar will be granted to his pupils and disciples who will have the advantage of being able to refer to this ancient manuscript in their effort to restore the exact Hebrew text of the Bible.

[6] The tradition recorded in this report seems to be inaccurate in certain particulars. For example, the codices were certainly kept not in the oil store, but in the south-eastern "shrine".

CAESAREA MARITIMA

by A. Negev, M.A.

Archaeological research in Israel has recently experienced a certain change in emphasis. Whereas interest in the country's antiquities had formerly been almost exclusively focused on the biblical period, there has lately emerged a concern with the later history of the country as well. This broadened interest is attested by the excavations and restorations in the Nabataean-Roman-Byzantine cities of 'Avdat and Shivta (in the central Negev), and is further emphasized by the recent archaeological activity at *Caesarea Maritima,* sponsored jointly by the Committee for Landscaping and Preservation of Antiquities and the Caesarea Development Corporation. These activities have led to the clearance and renovation of the Crusaders' *enceinte* and of other objects of interest in the once-famous capital of the Roman province of Palestine.

Historical Survey

Towards the close of the Persian period (4th century BCE), small "tyrannies" were established along the Syrio-Palestine coast, among which were the Sidonian colonies on the coastal strip of the Sharon. Midway between Dora and Joppa, Strato (*'Abdashtart,* a 4th century Sidonian king) founded the roadstead which bears his name: *Stratonos Pyrgos* or *Turris Stratonis* (Strato's Tower). At the end of the 2nd century BCE it was held by Zoilos, the tyrant of Dora. Strato's Tower changed masters many times, and it apparently fell into disuse just before Palestine came under the yoke of Rome.

In 22 BCE, Herod began to build a new city on the site. Consecrated twelve years later, it was called *Caesarea* in honour of the Emperor, and the title *Maritima* ("on the sea") was added to set it apart from other Caesareas. We have a complete description of the new foundation in the works of Josephus Flavius, whose especial attention was drawn to the port,

Limen Sebastos (Port of Augustus). He tells us that it served the sea traffic between Syria and Egypt as a much-needed haven, adding that it was "larger than the Piraeus". Huge stone blocks, some as much as 15 metres long, were transported to the spot and sunk into the sea to permit the construction of a mole that extended for some 60 metres. King Herod had six colossal statues erected at the mouth of the harbour. Not far from it stood a temple dedicated to Caesar Augustus and to *Dea Roma*. Josephus, who undoubtedly visited the city frequently, reports that the temple was remarkable for its beauty and grand proportions, and that the statue of the Emperor was not inferior to its model, the Olympian Zeus. The city also boasted other public buildings, including an amphitheatre, a theatre and a hippodrome, all worthy of its name.

In 4 BCE, after Herod's death, Caesarea passed into the hands of his son Archelaus, who held it for only ten years. Thereafter—except for the short period of Herod Agrippa's reign (41-44 CE)— it served as the seat of the Roman procurators. Here began the hostilities between Jews and Gentiles which led up to the First Revolt in 66 CE. Here was also the scene of Titus' celebration of his victory over the Jews (70 CE) in the course of which 2,500 Jewish prisoners perished in the amphitheatre.

In the later Roman period, Caesarea expanded: a Hadrianeum was erected and an aqueduct some 10 kilometres in length was built. The emperors continually added to its privileges, so that under Alexander Severus its full name was *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta, Felix Concordia, Metropolis Provinciae Syriae*. In this period, the Jewish and Samaritan communities prospered; synagogues and rabbinical academies were constructed, of which some remains have been uncovered.

Very important was the part played by Caesarea in the early history of Christianity. Here Peter baptized the centurion Cornelius; Paul was imprisoned here and from this port he departed for Rome. At the end of the 2nd century, Caesarea had a bishop of its own, and a synod was held there. In the middle of the 3rd century, Origen taught there; and in the 4th, the bishop was Eusebius, author of the first Church history and of the *Onomasticon*. Procopius, the historian of Emperor Justinian, was born and raised in Caesarea.

In 639, the Arab invaders put an end to Roman rule in Palestine. The conquest did not, however, interfere with the growth of Caesarea, a fact vouched for even by the mass of Arab pottery strewn in heaps throughout the site. Arab travellers and geographers emphasize its importance for international maritime trade. The city itself, with its water system still

functioning, is described by them as a heaven on earth. But its zenith had already passed and a gradual decline set in.

Soldiers of the First Crusade passed by Caesarea in 1099, but it was not until 1101 that Arab rule (which had lasted 462 years) came to a close, through the combined action of the Genoese fleet and the land forces of King Baldwin I. Albert of Aachen reports that the soldiers received permission to pillage the city, and a wholesale massacre took place in the Great Mosque which, according to Albert, had once been the synagogue of Herod Agrippa. In 1187, following their smashing victory at Qarn Hattin, the Arabs of Saladin captured the port of Caesarea. In February 1228, it was again in the hands of the Crusaders, and King John of Brienne attempted to fortify it. By the end of the year, however, the new fortifications were demolished by el-Malik el-Muazzam. Ten years later the city was again in Christian hands, this time Germans of the Sixth Crusade. Oddly enough, it was not until 1251, when the Crusaders' exploits in the Holy Land were approaching their end, that Louis IX of France gave Caesarea its system of "impregnable" fortifications, which included the city-wall, a moat and three gates.

The population was at its lowest ebb during this period and the Crusaders' city occupied not more than one-sixth of the area of the Roman and Byzantine cities within the walls. The wind formed sand dunes, and a large swamp, which was created after the water system had been abandoned, encroached on the once-flourishing city. In 1265 Sultan Baybars seized Caesarea. The thresholds of the main gate were symbolically uprooted and the city proper was razed. A generation later, Sultan Malik al-Ashraf all but completed the work of destruction. From that time, the site was only sporadically inhabited until the 19th century, when the Turks settled a colony of Moslems from Bosnia on it.

Archaeological Survey

From antiquity, Caesarea has been an easy prey for stone-robbers. The dismantling of the city had already begun in the late Roman, or early Byzantine, period. Statues which once adorned Roman temples were reused in Byzantine courts and streets; marble facings were torn down and used once again as floor pavements in early Arab houses; lintels, friezes, and columns and huge blocks of precious marble were used to reinforce the Crusaders' fortifications; massive pillars of porphyry, originally transported at great cost from Egypt, were sawed into large slabs by Arabs in the 19th century for use as millstones. Modern Acre, Jaffa and other Arab

cities and villages have found in Caesarea a virtually inexhaustible source of building materials. This situation, combined with the fact that large portions of the ancient city's territory are now under cultivation, makes the task of the archaeologists extremely difficult, and until two years ago their discoveries were mainly due to chance: a tractor scratched a statue and led to the discovery of a Byzantine street; a plough turned up some pieces of mosaic pavement, bringing to light a 7th century church, and so on. Systematic archaeological investigations of Caesarea were begun in 1959, with the work of an Italian expedition that excavated the Roman theatre, the Byzantine city-wall and other areas, and were carried forward in 1960 by the American "Sea Diver" team that engaged in underwater research in Herod's port.

In March 1960, the large-scale clearing of the Crusaders' town was begun by the present writer, assisted by Mr G. Foerster and Mr A. Vegman. Since then, the major concern has been to clear the Crusaders' fortifications. Some trial digs proved the absence of archaeological remains in the moat, and heavy equipment was used to remove from it some 30,000 cubic metres of earth. A task which would have required years of manual labour was thus completed in five months, and thanks to the care exercised by the machine operators, no damage was done to the fortifications.

The wall which encircles the Crusaders' city is 550 metres long (north-south) and 230 metres broad (east-west), the area enclosed being some 35 acres. A moat, some 10 metres across (Pl. I/1), runs along three sides of the wall; the west side faces on the sea. The counterscarp was preserved to a height of 4 to 7 metres. Of the city-wall, there remained only the lower part, protected by a sloping talus; the talus itself was remarkably preserved to a height of 10 to 15 metres. There are three buttresses on the north wall, nine on the east and four on the south. Each wall has a gate, the main gate being on the east. At some distance from each, there is a postern gate, which leads from the city to the moat; all of these are preserved intact.

It will suffice to describe here the eastern gate (Pl. III/3). It was led up to by a bridge that rested on four pointed arches whose platform was probably made of large beams. A very high tower rose above the city-wall opposite the bridge for the protection of the gate, an obvious weakness in the city's defence system (Pl. I/2). The French Crusaders were the first to abandon the construction of gates of the direct-entry type. Thus the east (as well as the north) gate was built in the lee of the tower so that it could be effectively covered: a soldier coming from the bridge had to make

1. The moat which runs along three walls of the Crusaders' city in Caesarea.

2. A view from within the city. On the left, the protecting tower. To its right, the eastern gate. In the centre, the inner eastern gate which opens on the marble-surfaced street (centre foreground).

1 Three apses of a 13th century cathedral.

2 One of two vaults unearthed beneath the cathedral. The vaults, which are from the time of Herod, were filled with various objects dating back from the 11th century CE to the 1st century CE.

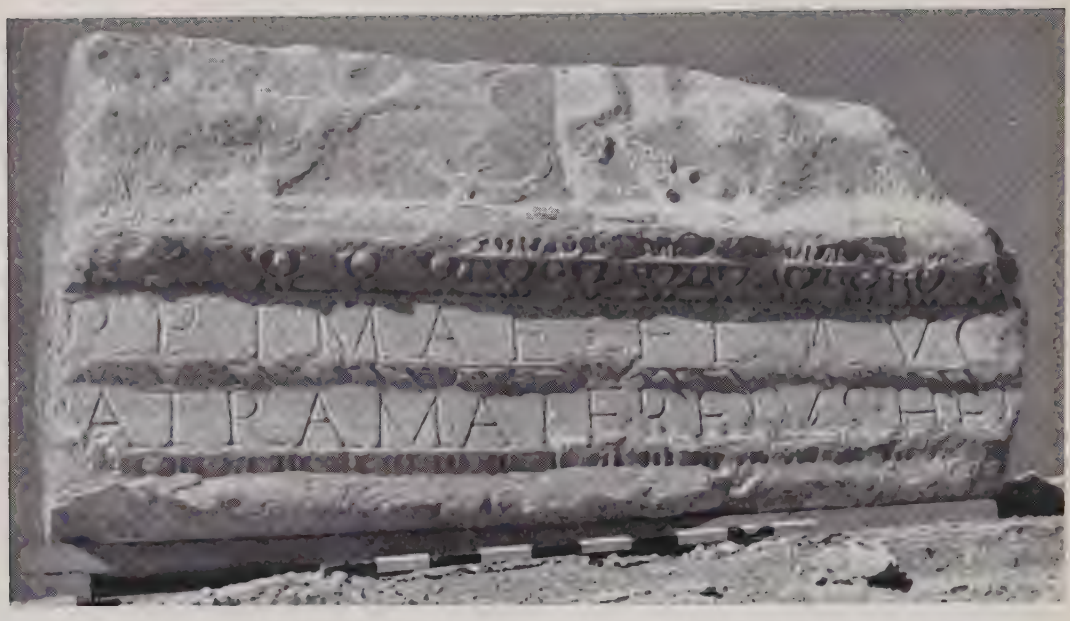
PLATE II

1. A marble statue of Christ carrying the lamb, 4th century.

2. A Greek mosaic inscription preserved from a Byzantine monastic building, quoting in Greek from *Romans* 13:3.

3. The eastern gate, typical of the three gates of the Crusaders' city.

4. Torso of a deity with a cornucopia, 2nd or 3rd century CE.



1. A fragment of a Latin dedicatory inscription bearing the titles bestowed on Caesarea by Vespasian:
[COLONIAE] PRIMAE FL(AVIAE) AUG(USTAE)
[CLEO]PATRA MATER EIUS HEL...

2. The podium of a Herodian temple dedicated to Caesar Augustus and to *Dea Roma*.

(*All photographs for this article by A. Volk, Jerusalem*)

a left turn, thus exposing his unshielded weapon-arm to the defenders. Still visible in the city's gates are grooves for the portcullises and sockets for iron door-hinges.

The outer gate leads into a large oblong hall, which the excavators found in an excellent state of preservation. The springers and their elaborate capitals were discovered *in situ* and the voussoirs and keystones were found in the debris, so that the arches can be reconstructed. In the western wall is a portal which leads to a street paved with fine white marble (Pl. I/2). The marble was doubtless taken from a nearby Roman temple, which contributed many of its magnificent architectural elements to the construction of the nearby Crusaders' houses and store-rooms.

A 13th century cathedral was unearthed in the city proper (Pl. II/1). Unfortunately, little remains of it except the three apses, which are of exceptionally good masonry. In the nave and the aisles, remains of many 19th century Moslem constructions were found. A small apse was found in front of the central apse. Its discovery, combined with the absence of any side-walls, suggests that the cathedral may never have been completed and that the builders had to content themselves with a small church instead. There are repeated references in ancient authorities to the dedication of a church in Caesarea, and until now it has been assumed that the allusion was to this church that we have cleared. It is my opinion that they may refer to another church, which stood in the northwest quarter of the city. Below the cathedral, two large vaults were found (Pl. II/2), full of pottery, glass and other objects dating back from the 10th and 11th centuries to the 1st century CE. The massive rooms themselves are doubtless from the Herodian period.

Some distance to the north of the vaults is a very large building now being excavated, whose site was probably identified correctly many years ago as that of the Temple of Augustus and of Rome, built by Herod. Regrettably, nothing remains of the temple. The structure now under excavation, merely the podium of the huge temple (Pl. IV/2), is a most interesting construction in its own right. Its western side is preserved to a height of 6 metres. Its general outline is that of a basilica, and its large cells were intentionally filled with crushed sandstone (kurkar)—brought from a considerable distance—in the midst of which Hellenistic and early Roman potsherds were discovered. The full extent of the original building and its floor plan are not yet known.

From this same period comes a large fragment of a dedicatory inscription which bears the titles bestowed upon the city by Emperor Vespasian. The

fragment, in Latin (Pl. IV/1), indicates that it was dedicated by the mother of an important Roman official:

[COLONIAE] PRIMAE FL(AVIAE) AUG(USTAE)
[CLEO]PATRA MATER EIUS HEL...

Surprisingly, very few Byzantine remains have thus far been identified in the excavated area of the Crusaders' city. A tractor levelling an area to the south brought to light a marble statue of Christ carrying the lamb (Pl. III/1). Soon after, remains were discovered nearby of a construction which proved to be a Byzantine monastic building with mosaic pavements. It was badly damaged in the early Arab period when three bins were sunk into the floor. A large Greek inscription was virtually destroyed —only a few letters remaining. Luckily, two further inscriptions in adjoining rooms escaped this fate. One of these is a motto, in Greek, taken from *Romans* 13:3, "Would you have no fear of him who is in authority? Then do what is good..." (Pl. III/2). Would these be the remains of the famous library of Origen, later used by Eusebius?

Our work is still in its early stages. It is hoped that in the course of our excavations at Caesarea many details of the city's past, now unknown, will come to light.

THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE IN ISRAEL

by Rev. Alexander Wachtel, Th.M.

On 30 June 1960, the Church of the Nazarene signed a contract with the Israel company "Solel Boneh" for the construction of a new religious centre in Nazareth. The building now under construction will house a chapel, offices and living quarters. It will also afford facilities for Sunday and Vacation Schools, and thus become the Nazarenes' centre of irradiation for the northern part of the country.

The Church of the Nazarene began its work in the Holy Land in 1918. Its endeavours were carried on mainly among Armenian Protestants, and in the course of time a small but active Nazarene community flourished in the Holy City. By 1948 this community numbered some 150 members and more than 250 attended its Sunday School. When hostilities erupted in that year, the large majority moved to the Old City, where they subsequently established two churches, one Armenian and one Arab. As a result of this movement, the activities of the Church in Israel were greatly reduced, but not discontinued, the chapel in Jerusalem having remained open during the entire period. In 1955, the Church opened a new field of work in Nazareth, again chiefly among Armenians, but also among interested Arab families. Today, more than sixty attend the Nazarene Church services and Sunday Schools there.

The local Church is an arm of the international denomination of the Church of the Nazarene, which has its headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, USA. Since its official beginning in 1908, the Church of the Nazarene has grown very rapidly. Today it has some 375,000 church members and more than 800,000 Sunday School members in 4,700 churches located throughout the US and in Canada, the British Isles, Australia, South Africa and elsewhere. Its educational institutions include: six liberal arts colleges in the US, each with its attendant theological department; two Bible colleges, in Canada and Scotland; and a graduate theological seminary with more than 300 students, committed to the doctrines, vision

and programme of the Church. Its publishing house, which issues thousands of books and pamphlets as well as forty-two periodicals (the official publication being the *Herald of Holiness*), is recognized as one of the outstanding in America today. Its nation-wide radio programme, "Showers of Blessing", is heard over hundreds of stations in North America and is now also broadcast in Spanish to South America. In 1958, the Church of the Nazarene celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of service.

The Church of the Nazarene is the largest of the Holiness churches and is distinctively Wesleyan in theology. It lays particular emphasis upon the doctrine of entire sanctification as a second work of grace, subsequent to regeneration, wrought in the hearts of believers by faith in Christ. In common with most Protestant churches, the Nazarenes follow the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Neither ritualistic nor iconoclastic, they practise a free form of worship and attribute particular value to a heartfelt religion through the experience of God's grace.

The Church of the Nazarene believes that true peace can be achieved only when men are regenerated and their hearts are cleansed. This teaching, they maintain, is clearly indicated in the New Testament and has been realized in the hearts of thousands of people. Its aim in Nazareth, as elsewhere, is to preach this doctrine, so that men may by brought to truly love both God and men with all their hearts. Out of such a nucleus of changed people in Nazareth, it is hoped that there will arise a strong force that may contribute to a genuine reconciliation between Arab and Jew. This is the belief and the challenge for the Church of the Nazarene in this country.

IN QUEST OF A TOMB

by Dr Ch. Wardi

Georgia, once a country in frequent intercourse with the Holy Land, is now a distant region, almost a land of myth, and visitors coming from that part of the world make one think involuntarily of the Wise Men from the East. Especially when they arrive here in groups of three, bearing gifts... though these may not be gold, frankincense and myrrh, but poems, books and a microfilm of the ancient Lylash Hebrew Bible.

The latest arrivals from Georgia were significantly neither monks nor princes (as often in the past), but laymen and writers. Irakli Abashidze is a gifted and well-known poet, whose lyrics are sung and recited throughout his country; Professors Akaki Shanidze and Giorgi Tseret'eli, members of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, are scholars of international renown. Though perfectly secular and men of the world, they nevertheless had about them an air of pilgrims. They surely bore no resemblance to leisurely tourists: they were men with a mission. From the very moment of their arrival, they declared their purpose: to examine certain ancient Georgian inscriptions and to collect every possible evidence regarding Shota Rustveli, their great mediaeval poet. They even seemed to have come in quest of his tomb... the never-ceasing quest for an empty Tomb.

In the course of archaeological excavations carried out between 1951 and 1954 on behalf of the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, the remains of several ancient monasteries were unearthed, including a Georgian monastery, "most original in its plan and noble in the disposition of its rooms." Here, four mosaic inscriptions were found, which were subsequently studied, interpreted and dated by the late Georgian scholar, M. Tarkhnishvili. On the grounds of the probable age of the inscriptions as well as of other direct and indirect evidence, Father Virgilio Corbo, OFM, Director of the excavations, expressed the opinion that the building was probably of the second half of the 6th

century and might be identical with the "Monastery of the Lazes" mentioned in Procopius' *De edificiis,* L.V., C. IX.[1]

The results of Father Corbo's work were then made the object of further study in Georgia, and Professor Tseret'eli, who is an expert not only in ancient Georgian but also in Aramaic and Iranic languages, reached the following startling conclusions: that if one of the inscriptions was of the 6th, at least two others were of the 5th century, thus representing the most ancient extant examples of Georgian writing (in fact a hundred years older that those of Bolnisi, hitherto reputed to be the oldest known); that the names *Maruan, Burzen* and *Bakur,* occurring in these inscriptions, were those of Peter the Iberian, and of his father Mihr-Burzen and grandfather Bakur the Great, both kings of (Georgian) Iberia; that the monastery was built by Peter himself in the thirties of the 5th century (433 ?); and, most important, that the hypothesis concerning the "invention" of Georgian writing by 429 CE was therefore to be definitely abandoned.[2]

Prof. Tseret'eli had never seen the original inscriptions, which at present are kept in the Franciscan monastery of the Flagellation, and he came to this country in the hope of beholding them with his own eyes. In this hope, however, he and his companions were grievously disappointed. The Jordan authorities would not permit Soviet citizens to enter the Old City.

No wonder then that our visitors dedicated all their time to the study of the monastery of the Cross, which is reputed to be the scene of a visit by Shota Rustveli, and even the place of his death and burial (see *Christian News from Israel,* vol. XI, No. 1). They examined the building and the cells, photographed the old frescoes that are still visible, tried to reach even those covered with modern paint. By means of a special chemical, they removed the paint from one of the pillars and there uncovered, between the two towering figures of Maximus the Confessor and John of Damascus, the much smaller image of a kneeling Georgian dignitary surmounted by the following inscription: "To Shota who had

[1] A detailed discussion of the problem, including a study of the inscriptions by M. Tarkhnishvili, is to be found in Father Corbo's volume "Gli Scavi di Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam (Campo dei Pastori) e i Monasteri dei Dintorni", *Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum No.* 11. *Gerusalemme* 1955.

[2] Tseret'eli, "The most ancient Georgian inscriptions from Palestine." Published by the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Georgian SSR. Tbilisi, 1960. (In Georgian, with abstracts in Russian and English).

Portrait of Shota Rustveli. (Photograph by A. Bernheim, Jerusalem)

painted this may God forgive amen Rustveli". As a matter of fact, this was no new discovery. The painting had been seen and described by Alexander Tsagareli in 1883[3] and by others before him. Since the entire church had been redecorated in 1643, by Nicephoros, son of Prince Oman Tsholakashvili, Tsagareli thought the painting was of the 17th century, though admitting the possibility of its being of an earlier date; and on the ground of the laical attire in which the poet is represented, he expressed reserve (perhaps too readily) towards the tradition that wanted

[3] Александръ Цагарели, Памятники Грузинской Старины въ Святой Землѣ и на Синаѣ. С.-Петербургъ, 1888. Стр. 94-95.

Shota to have become a monk in Jerusalem. Our visitors' attention was chiefly drawn to the puzzling inscription. Why was the name "Rustveli" written at the end of the phrase, and not immediately after the personal name "Shota"? Prof. Tseret'eli's suggestion was that the word "Rustveli" did not form part of the phrase but was simply the name of the person portrayed in the painting. The inscription itself would then read as follows: "To Shota, who had this (temple) painted, may God forgive (his sins). Amen". This construction still leaves open a number of questions. Would the inscription then be of the early 13th century? Shota is reputed, in fact, to have decorated the church on behalf of his Queen Thamar (1184-1212). And what about the painting itself? Was it made in 1643, or at the beginning of the 13th century; or was it perhaps a modern restoration of a mediaeval original? It may not be easy to find answers to these questions. Historians of Georgian art might possibly be able to make a contribution. Many Georgian works of art of the 12th and 13th centuries have come down to us, and it might perhaps be of interest to compare the style and technique of our painting, say, with those executed by that time on behalf of Sherghil Dadiani in the church of the monastery of Khobi. There are naturally no extant portraits of Shota from his own time, the oldest known being, according to D. Gordieyev, from 1646. («Феникс», № 1, Тифлис, 1919, стр. 1-4).

Readers of this journal may ask: why this concern with Shota Rustveli, who, after all, has frequently been frowned upon by the Georgian Church, and whose work was even publicly burned in the 18th century by so enlightened a Catholicos as Antoni I (whose uncle, King Vakhtang VI, had been the publisher of the *editio-princeps* of Shota's poem)?

The reply is that Shota is considered the greatest poetical genius of the Georgian nation. His romantic epic, "Panther Skin" (a story of a *midjnur* —a man possessed by love and out of his mind from it—who roams over the world in quest of the lady of his heart: a precursor of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*), has probably contributed more than any other literary work to the moulding of the Georgians' soul and the forming of their mind. Men and women alike, to the present day, study and know it by heart; aphorisms derived from it are on everyone's lips as popular proverbs. Georgian brides often receive a finely decorated manuscript copy of Shota's poem as a gift for life.

Despite this great popularity, no documents are extant on Shota's life

and story, and all we know of him is derived from the scanty information included in the poem itself. Legend and tradition naturally know a great deal more, namely that he was a *midjnur* himself. In fact, he is said to have served as a courtier at the brilliant court of Queen Thamar, to have fallen desperately in love with her, and, having met with no response, to have withdrawn from the world of his dreams and suffering to the monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem. Was he buried in Jerusalem? There is no evidence to substantiate this tradition. But legend needs no evidence, for it recounts what has happened the way it *ought* to have happened; and the story is too beautiful for the Georgians, at least, to give up their quest of the Tomb.

Our visitors were so kind as to present the writer of this article with a copy of "Panther Skin" in Nutsubidze's Russian translation. He wishes here to express his appreciation for this gracious attention and to record the profound delight which he derived from reading the book. It is indeed a work of great and noble beauty and of astonishing maturity of taste and thought. To find literary elements of the Italian Renaissance in a work written a hundred years before Dante's "Comedy" is surely a great surprise. But the most startling surprise awaits one in the *introduction* to this beautiful translation. In speaking of Shota's intellectual ancestry, Prof. Nutsubidze mentions, besides Joane Petritzi and Joane Meskh (Moschos), the "wise Divnos", i.e. Dionysius Areopagita. This is only natural, for most of the *Corpus areopagiticum* was translated into Georgian by the end of the 11th century (by Ephrem Mtsiré, who died in 1103). But Nutsubidze claims that the author of the *Corpus* was a Georgian himself—none other than Peter the Iberian, our "Israel" bishop of Maiuma, founder of the Georgian monasteries in the Holy Land . . . Surely there is nothing intrinsically contradictory in such an assumption. The *Corpus* is most probably the work of a 5th century writer, and the latter might very well have been a Georgian rather than a Syrian (Severus of Antioch), as claimed by others. Georgian ecclesiastics knew Greek at that time (Prince Maruan-Peter was brought up in Constantinople) and some of them proved to be quite subtle thinkers. One has only to recall Jerome's Origenist friend, Evagrius Ponticus. But one would like to know whether there are *positive* proofs to substantiate that identification. Unfortunately, no proofs or references are adduced in the introduction in question; and no suggestion of such a paternity seems to exist in Zakharia's "Life of St Petre Murvanos, *alias* Peter the Iberian".

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

STUDII BIBLICI FRANCISCANI LIBER ANNUUS IX (1958-1959). Jerusalem, Apud Aedem Flagellationis, 1959. 361 pp.

The present *Liber* contains the following articles: "Le 70 settimane di Daniele come castigo", by Father E. Testa; "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super acquas", by Father M. Miguens; "Die Gemeinschaftsform der Religiösen Gruppen des Spätjudentums und der Urkirche", by Father Ph. Seidensticker; "De Mariologicis Lyrani postillis in Prophetas Medii Aevi exegeseos lumine perpensis", by Father P. M. Adinolfi;"Alcune questioni di Topografia in 1 Sam. 13–14, 1–15", by Father G. Lombardi; "A Hoard of Syrian Tetradrachms and Eastern Antoniniani from Capharnaum", by Father A. Spijkerman; "Nouvelles Inscriptions sémitiques et grecques du pays de Moab", by Father J.T. Millik.

We shall dwell here upon the contribution of Father Seidensticker, which seems to us one of the best and most scholarly treatments of the social and spiritual history of the Jews in the period of the Second Temple.

The author takes as his point of departure the now current description of the Dead Sea sect as a "monastic group". He is surely correct in resisting the use of this designation. For if early Christian monachism resembled the Jewish religious groups of the period, such as the Pharisees and Essenes, in the adoption of a severe mode of life, the difference between them was of a radical nature. The Jewish groups either viewed their frame-work of obligations as the desired path for all Israel (as the Pharisees), or saw themselves as the *verus Israel* (as the Essenes); Christian monachism never sought to embrace the whole of the Christian community, but "he who is able to receive it, let him receive it" *(Matthew* 19:12).

Seidensticker correctly shows that each of the Jewish religious groups throughout the period of the Second Temple embodied in its specific ideology and social structure the Jewish idea of the City of God. Each purported to represent Israel, God's people. Josephus' phrase about the Essenes, that they "cultivate peculiar sanctity", in fact describes all the groups that crystallized after the return from Babylon. The overriding principle in all of them was the idea of the holiness of the Chosen People and not any separatist group tendencies within the Jewish people. As the author points out, each of these groups tried to realize the biblical mission of Israel as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" *(Exodus* 19:6). A confirmation of this thesis can be found *inter alia* in the tanna-

itic Midrash *Mekhilta,* where the words "a holy nation" are expounded: "holy and sanctified, separated from the gentiles and their abominations"; the Hebrew word for "separated" is *perushim,* "Pharisees".

It is a common and serious error to explain the origins of Jewish religious movements in this period as resulting from opposition to the hierocracy of the Temple in Jerusalem. Seidensticker avoids this error and, on the contrary, emphasizes the sacerdotal character of the groups. The practice of ritual purifications outside the Temple district by all members of the community, which was the most important formative element in the social structure of the group, was not intended as opposition to the Temple; and the large number of priests who belonged to the various religious movements supports Seidensticker's thesis that a natural tie could exist between the ideologies of these groups and the Aaronic priesthood. He shows that the predilection for Aaronic priests in the Essene movement proves that the Essenes not only had no objection to sacrifice *per se,* but even aspired to take possession of the Temple and install in it a priest of their own group: "there never was a priesthood that severed itself from all sacrificial practice" (p. 165, n. 131). But this leaves unexplained both the Essene opposition to the Temple as it was and the struggle between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (whose leaders were probably drawn from the priestly aristocracy). It therefore seems likely that some natural antagonism existed between lay groups practising holiness and the professional institution of holiness, i.e. the Jerusalem priesthood.

A most important contribution is the author's profound insight into the dialectic trends visible in the formation and development of the religious groups in the period of the Second Temple (v.pp. 105–7). The idea of the Jewish people as a holy community led not only to its withdrawal from the gentiles and their impurities, but also to the withdrawal of individual groups from the rest of the Jewish people, who did not accept the special claims of the groups. These other Jews, in the eyes of the *élite,* were ritually unclean and lacking in piety. The Pharisees designated these outside Jews as *am haaretz* (common people), incapable of being truly pious; the Qûmran covenanters called them "Sons of Darkness". Thus the very idea of a holy people engendered and sustained the sectarian spirit within Judaism in the Maccabean and Roman periods. Seidensticker does not mention the social elements which contributed to this development; but obviously the religious groups also represented antagonistic social forces in Jewish society. Thus the Essene notion of poverty is not merely an eschatological ideal (pp. 170–2), but also a practical social aspiration, with roots apparently in the dreams of paupers. It is commonly thought that a gap separates the study of the spiritual structure of an ideology and the detection of the social meaning of this structure. But in real-

ity, the first scientific method does not exclude the second; the social and spiritual aspects of an idea are but two sides of a single problem—the place of man in the world.

It is highly probable that the differences in ideology between the Pharisees and the Essenes lay in the social roots of their respective spiritual concepts. The former, while distinguished from the common people, became their leaders and teachers. The revolutionary ideology of the latter sundered them from the rest of Israel; dualistic tendencies became dominant in their thought, and as Sons of Light they accepted as a religious commandment enmity towards the Sons of Darkness. In Seidensticker's words, Pharisaism strove to remain an *ecclesiola in ecclesia,* and Essenism, an *ecclesiola extra ecclesiam.* From this point of view, the Essene idea of a City of God that is by no means identical with Israel according to the flesh would appear to adumbrate the Christian idea of the Church of God.

It is probably no mere coincidence that both the Essenes and the Christians claimed to be the *verus Israel,* elected by God through a new covenant of grace. The Jewish literature of the last pre-Christian centuries, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls, appears strongly to support the thesis that historically the theological concepts of the Jewish groups of this period had an influence on the Christian idea of Church, at least in phraseology. How else can we explain the description of the Christian Church in *I Peter* (2: 5–6) in the same terms as that of the Essene Community of God (*Manual of Discipline* VIII, 4–10)? We have brought from *Mekhilta* support for Seidensticker's contention that the Pharisees applied to themselves the biblical designation, "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation". Can it be a chance duplication that the Christians are described in *I Peter* 2:9 as "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people"?

The author correctly points out that the Christian community differs from the Jewish religious groups in that it was based on the belief in salvation through Jesus and it held the Church to be universal, while the latter were more or less particularistic; that the organization of the original Church was spontaneous, while the Jewish groups had their fixed constitutions and detailed rituals. He is surely right in emphasizing the apostolic origin of the Church. However, does this exclude a historical connection between these pre-Christian movements and the Christian beginnings? The Christian idea of a City of God originated in an atmosphere in which each of the different Jewish groups considered itself an elect and sanctified community. The concept of a City of God was more likely to emerge in this milieu than in the Jewish nation of the period of the First Temple. It would therefore seem that these Jewish groups and their "ecclesiastical" ideologies, from a historical and even from a theological point of view, were conducive to the emergence of Christianity.

It would greatly contribute to the clarification of the problem if, in a further study, the author would treat not only the basic differences between pre-Christian Judaism and the early Church of Christ but also their common elements and the historical relationship between them. Now that we have more information about post-exilic and pre-Christian Judaism, it is no longer sufficient to scrutinize the origins of Christianity only in the light of the Old Testament; furthermore, these origins at the close of the period of the Second Temple have not only historical, but also theological, implications. Although the author does not ask this question as such and he indicates a different approach to it, his analysis of Jewish religious life in that period is one of the finest contributions to the study of the historical roots of Christianity. Valuable for Jews and Christians alike, Father Seidensticker's important monograph should be made available to an even larger circle of readers through an early translation into English.

David Flusser
The Hebrew University

DIE HEILIGEN STÄTTEN DER EVANGELIEN, by Clemens Kopp, Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg, 1959. 504 pp., 9 maps, 66 plates.

This important and systematic work, which traces back to their origins the traditions that identify the holy places mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels, is in the line of direct succession from Gustaf Dalman's *Orte und Wege Jesu* (3rd ed., 1924). Dr Kopp began his studies on the subject some thirty years ago and lived in Palestine from 1936 to 1946, owing to his "opposition to the contemporary political conditions in Germany". In the book he relates the results of his quest for "historical certainty in so far—and only in so far—as it is attainable." As such it is addressed primarily, though not solely, to the specialist. Pointing out that there was no continuity of topographical tradition from the time of Jesus' contemporaries, Dr Kopp remarks (on the strength of Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome) that this is "no vital issue for Christians", although whoever is attached to his faith will surely want to know and honour the sites mentioned in the Gospels.

We have before us, then, a frank, unsparing handling of the evidence. It is interesting to compare Kopp's work with that of Dalman. The latter is generally more expansive; his learning flows over into many fields —topographical, botanical, folkloristic, talmudic. Kopp has written no less; but his interest is mainly centred on the sources and his treatment is thorough, clear, methodical and free from digressions. His debt to Dalman is undeniable (as is everyone's in this field), for instance in the description of the Temple and the rites asso-

ciated with it; but his orderly presentation of the evidence is a gift that specialists will know how to value, and educated laymen to utilize. Kopp has taken pains to examine the material bearing on all sites mentioned in the Gospels, without exception, while Dalman passed over some, such as the story of the Wise Men from the East and that of the massacre of the children *(Matthew* 2). Utilizing the results of more recent research, Kopp naturally is at variance with Dalman on certain locations. Some examples are the birthplace of John the Baptist, which Kopp does not assign to Ein Karem, and the place of Baptism, which he is convinced was near the ford of Wadi el-Kharrar and not of Hajlah. Kopp believes that he has established the place of the synagogue in Nazareth on the present Moslem cemetery, while Dalman thought it was the ground of the church of the Greek Catholics. Dalman placed Bethany to the east of Lazarus' Tomb, while Kopp, on the strength of recent excavations, places it on the western slope. Here, Dalman thought, was Bethphage, while according to Kopp this lay within the boundaries of the Russian property on Mt Olivet. He also differs from Dalman on the place of Jesus' meeting with Mary and Martha *(John* 11), the Mount of the Beatitudes, etc.

To illustrate Dr Kopp's method we might cite the familiar case of Capernaum and its synagogue. He sets forth successively the relevant material from the Gospels and Josephus, from Jewish, Christian and later literature, in so far as it bears on the character, topography and identification of the place. He accepts without hesitation the verdict of most archaeologists that the present ancient synagogue is not the one in which Jesus preached. Although he believes that the latter may well lie under the present structure, he nevertheless faithfully records (in a footnote) that the late Prof. Sukenik dug a trial-pit six metres below the extant remains and found no evidence of an earlier synagogue. After discussing the "Seven Springs", their fish and their relation to Tabgha, Khirbet Minyeh and Tell Hum, Kopp turns to Jewish tradition and follows the story of the sectarians and the account of the "Tomb of Nahum" down to the 16th century and even later. Finally he analyses the Christian evidence: here the vital passage is that of the nun Aetheria (385), which describes a synagogue that can be safely identified with the present excavated structure. The building, however, then vanishes from literature, although the alleged house of Peter seems to have become a church; this is evidently not the octagonal chapel south of the synagogue. The church was gone by the 8th century, and accounts of it begin to blur and waver. The Crusaders still know of the site, but in the 16th century a definite break occurred in the tradition and the name was erroneously associated with Khirbet Minyeh. In the 17th century the site was rediscovered by a traveller, with the help

of local Arabs. In the 19th century, travellers viewed the identification with scepticism, but recent research has reestablished it beyond cavil.

This instance, while far from simple, is still not the most difficult of the problems facing the investigator. When Dr Kopp tackles the topography associated with the life of John the Baptist and the temptation of Jesus, he must perforce take the Qûmran sect into his purview. His brief sketch is entitled "The Essenes", implying the conclusion that the two were identical ("the Essenes or a closely related community"); but the matter is far from settled. True, the affinities between John and the Qûmran sect have been recognized by scholars, and those between some elements in the scrolls and in *John* have been pointed out by Kurt Schubert *(The Dead Sea Community)*. But on the aggressive military messianism of the Qûmran sectarians, Dr Kopp is silent, and surely here lies one of the gravest complications in the problem of their influence on the Baptist and his circle.

So the author progresses, dealing in turn with each site and its associated events. He is never credulous or uncritical. In every case he puts his finger on the vital question in the complex: which is the oldest tradition that governs the fixing of the alleged site and can it be traced back to before the 4th century? He does not hesitate to express doubts. With regard to the site of the reappearance of Jesus to Peter by the Sea of Galilee, he asks whether tradition remembered the site or whether it was selected on grounds of probability and beauty. In relation to the *Praetorium,* he admits that it had left no memory, and in 300, when it was assigned a place, ignorance had already transferred the judgment of Jesus to the "House of Caiaphas". On the other hand, the site of the tomb of James was known, according to Eusebius, down to Hadrian's time, and it is precisely this that proves the erroneous identification (discredited also by archaeology) of the present "Tomb of St James", which was, however, not far off.

Here and there, specialists will differ on learned details. Surely the alleged passage of Josephus on the death of James should not be accepted without demur; even Origen doubted its authenticity. We should like a scale for map vii. Is it certain that the place of the *Praetorium* could not move? The word meant merely "headquarters" and it could equally mean a landholder's mansion or an official road-house. The discussion of the "woman taken in adultery" *(John* 8) has more than topography to interest us, and I think that no incident has been more misunderstood. My own view is that, since such an adulteress had to be taken *in flagrante delicto* by two witnesses, the case must have been so rare as to have caused general perplexity. Had it been a common occurrence, or had prompt execution been the practice, the incident would probably never have come to the attention of Jesus.

Dr Kopp utilizes the most recent

evidence. He reviews, for example, the 1955 excavations of the Nazareth church of the Annunciation and the adjacent area. These showed that the site of the church lay within what was the settled area of ancient Nazareth from the Early Iron Age to Byzantine times. The earliest sacred structure here dated from the 4th century. It was, however, erected over an older underground chamber, which the author thinks may be the Tomb of St Joseph mentioned in the 4th century; but here as elsewhere he is cautious and undogmatic.

Dr Kopp's book will long serve as a clear and competent guide for all who wish to study the topography of the Gospels.

Shimon Appelbaum

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑ, ΕΤΟΣ ΝΑ΄, ΤΟΜΟΣ ΝΔ΄

The four issues which appeared during 1959 deserve more than a cursory reading.

In 1958, this journal already gave us three studies on the poets and hymnographers of the Orthodox Church. Fifteen pages of the first issue of this year are devoted to the continuation of this research. We should like to note the originality of this short prayer: "The Word, which was begotten by the Father before all centuries, like a divine quill..."

We congratulate Archimandrite Chrysanthos Limberis on having alert readers in the West. His article on "The Monastic Life and the First Monks" promptly inspired an article in a European magazine. The writer begins with the life of Patriarch Anthony by St Athanasius, and with St Pachomius, to bring us westward with St Benedict, the patriarch of the monks of the West.

George Murikes completes his study on St John of Damascus, the great writer of the Eastern Church. The author treats the saint's preaching about the Church; he reveals a good knowledge of Migne's Patrology. Here is one of his notable quotations: "Ye peoples, races, tongues; men, women and children; old, young and babes; in brief, Christians of the whole world: should anyone preach to you anything else than what the universal Church has received from the holy Apostles, the Fathers and the Councils, and has preserved to this very day, do not heed him, do not accept the serpent's symbol, as did Eve, to reap death." He begins his discussion of the views of St John on the "Mysteries" by citing the thesis of Jugie as presented in his article on the Damascene in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*. St John's teaching concerning the mysteries was neither complete nor comprehensive; in fact, it dealt only with Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, interested as he was in "precisely defining the orthodox faith." The study concludes with some reflections on the influence of St John on Eastern and

Western theology. Here again Murikes adduces the testimony of the *Dictionnaire:* the influence of the famous doctor of the 8th century was considerable in the East, especially among the Slavs, the Bulgars and the Greeks, while in the West it is clearly felt in the works of Peter Lombard and St Thomas Aquinas.

During 1959, *Nea Sion* concentrated on the theme, *The Holy Land,* a choice which will surprise no one, since it is published in Jerusalem. The articles (translated from the French) are by Nicephoros Moschopoulos and the main subjects treated are: the topography of Jerusalem (with a map); *Via Dolorosa* and Gethsemane; The Tomb of Mary; Golgotha; the chapel of Adam; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre and of Golgotha; Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity; the Grotto of the Nativity; and the various pilgrimages, followed by a photograph of the map of Madaba.

The third issue opens with an historical analysis, of which the first chapter surveys the centuries between the founding of the Church of Jerusalem (in 33) and the Ottoman Conquest (1517): The hellenization of the ancient world, particularly of the East; contacts between Hellenism and Judaism; the predominance of the Greek language; Greek philosophy and Christian theology. The fourth and last issue (Oct.-Dec.) presents the second chapter of this analysis: the first Christian Church; the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre; persecution and terrorism in Jerusalem; desecration of Holy Places.

In the same issue, the third chapter treats the period from Constantine until the Arab Conquest (313-636): the erection of the Basilica of Jerusalem and of the other shrines; the interest of the Byzantine Emperors in the Holy Places; the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem; the growth of the Holy City during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries; the Persian invasion and the destruction of the Holy Places. We also have an interesting article by Dr Jerome A. N. Tsirpanli on "The Ascetic Tradition in Orthodoxy" and the first part of a study by Archimandrite James Kapenekas on the "History of the Church of Jerusalem through the Ages".

A new feature this year are the photographs of topical interest, especially of distinguished guests who visited the Patriarchate: thus, the Oecumenical Patriarch and the Patriarch of Serbia are shown in the company of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Several pictures illustrate the visit of the Jerusalem Patriarch to Athens. A beautiful photograph in colour of the church of the Holy Sepulchre completes the collection.

As in previous years, there are articles on the activities of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The interested reader will find the new constitution of the Patriarchate as well as the new schedule of courses at its canonical school.

Abbé Adolphe Viseur

INDEX OF VOL. XI (1960)

EVENTS

Christmas 1959	1, p. 3
New Mayor of Nazareth	1, p. 4
The President's greetings	1, p. 4
British and American Bible Societies publish Hebrew Bibles in Israel	1, p. 5
Arab made Archbishop in Greek Orthodox Church of Jerusalem	1, p. 6
Pilgrimages of Eastern Communities	1, p. 6
Message of Bishop Dibelius to Mr Ben Gurion	1, p. 6
Visit of President of the National Council of Churches	1, p. 7
Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee received by Prime Minister	1, p. 7
French Ambassador visits Rabbi Toledano	1, p. 7
Greek Orthodox Monasteries to be restored to Patriarchate	1, p. 8
Ministry of Education endorses Recommendations of Inter-Faith Committee	1, p. 8
Appeal by Greek Theologian to omit Anti-Jewish Prayers	1, p. 9
Commemoration of Professor Flemming Friis Hvidberg	1, p. 9
Visit of Father Vincent S. Kearney S. J.	1, p. 10
Feast of Qidane Mehret	1, p. 10
At the Israel-American Institute of Biblical Studies	1, p. 10
Patriarch of Jerusalem celebrates Feast of Moscow Patriarch	1, p. 11
Swedish Theological Books for the Hebrew University	1, p. 11
New Orthodox Archbishop of Tiberias	1, p. 12
Baptist Community in Cana of Galilee	1, p. 12
A Guest from the Netherlands	1, p. 12
New President of the Greek Orthodox Ecclesiastical Courts	1, p. 13
Dr Billy Graham in Israel	1, p. 13
The Feast of St Joseph	1, p. 13
Religious Art in Jerusalem	1, p. 14
In Memoriam: Mgr Antonio Vergani	1, p. 15
Easter 1960	2, p. 3
Byzantine Acropolis reconstructed at 'Avdat	2, p. 4
Easter Music at the Baptist Church in Jerusalem	2, p. 4

Bishop Sheen and Mr Morton in Israel	2, p. 4
"Second Easter" at Qidane Mehret Maryam	2, p. 4
Sacred Music in Jaffa Church	2, p. 5
Primate of Greece against anti-Semitism	2, p. 5
Finnish Pilgrimages to Israel	2, p. 6
Ministry of Labour Official elected Nazareth Freeman	2, p. 6
Compensation for Arab Citizens to be expedited	2, p. 6
Nazareth Development Plan	2, p. 7
Visit of Benedictine Abbot Primate	2, p. 7
Large Pilgrimage from the United States	2, p. 7
Pilgrimage led by Member of Brazilian Parliament	2, p. 8
Franciscan Monastery *ad Coenaculum* restored to Custody	2, p. 8
Liturgy at the Chapel of the Catacombs	2, p. 9
New Armenian Patriarch-elect	2, p. 9
Feast of St John the Baptist in Ain Karem	2, p. 9
In Memoriam: Father Bonaventura Ubach y Medir, O.S.B.	2, p. 10
In Memoriam: Rabbi Yaaqov Moshe Toledano	3, p. 3
Studium Biblicum Franciscanum raised to Academic Rank	3, p. 4
At the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem	3, p. 5
A Building for the Church of the Nazarene	3, p. 5
Pastoral Visit of Maronite Bishops	3, p. 5
Melkite Synod held in the Old City	3, p. 6
Former Head of Moscow Patriarchal Mission in Jerusalem consecrated a Bishop	3, p. 6
Daughters of Charity commemorate their Founders	3, p. 7
At the Moscow Patriarchal Mission in Jerusalem	3, p. 7
Bequest of Christadelphian to the Jewish National Fund	3, p. 7
The Day of St Claire in Jerusalem	3, p. 8
Mr Benson regards Israel as Fulfilment of Mormon Prophecy	3, p. 8
Israel Priest to serve on a Pontifical Commission	3, p. 8
Israel Catholics at the Eucharistic Congress in Munich	3, p. 9
Third Semester at the Israel-American Institute	3, p. 9
Baptist Bible Land Seminar	3, p. 9
Seminars for Christian Visitors	3, p. 10
The New Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth	4, p. 3
UJA Study Mission received by the Pope	4, p. 3
Visitors from Georgia	4, p. 4
Member of Dutch Underground lecturing in Israel	4, p. 4
An Archbishop to take up residence at Monastery *ad Coenaculum*	4, p. 4
Anglican Center of Christian Studies in Old City	4, p. 5
Annual Conference of United Christian Council	4, p. 5
World Week of Prayer at YMCA	4, p. 5

Commemoration of James Arminius 4, p. 5
Day of St Michael and St Gabriel in Jaffa 4, p. 6
Prayer for World Peace on Mt Zion 4, p. 6
The Feast of the Pope 4, p. 6
Visit of Archbishop of Canterbury 4, p. 7
Consular Mass at the Basilica of St Saviour of Qaryet el-'Enab 4, p. 7
Fourth Centenary of the Franciscan Monastery of St Saviour 4, p. 8
Latin Patriarch to serve on Pontifical Central Commission 4, p. 8
Mass for King Baudouin's Marriage 4, p. 8
Russian Patriarchal Party in Jerusalem 4, p. 8

ARTICLES

APPELBAUM, S. : *Die Heiligen Stätten der Evangelien,* by Clemens Kopp. 4, p. 33
BEN-GURION, DAVID : Science and Ethics — The Contribution of Greece, India and Israel 1, p. 26
BEN-ZVI, IZHAK : The Codex of Ben Asher 4, p. 10
BIRAN, ABRAHAM : Archaeological Activities in Israel, 1959–1960 2, p. 16
BUSKIRK, J. PHILIP : The American Friends Service Committee 3, p. 10
DOTHAN, M. : The Ancient Harbour of Ashdod 1, p. 16
FLUSSER, DAVID : *The Dead Sea Community, Its Origin and Teachings,* by Kurt Schubert 2, p. 25
FLUSSER, DAVID : *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus IX* 4, p. 30
HIRSCHBERG, H.Z. : *Palestinski Sbornik, Vypuski* 1-4 2, p. 30
HYMAN, S.C. : *Europe and the Jews,* by Malcolm Hay 3, p. 29
JEAN-ROGER : Christian Travel in Israel 2, p. 21
NEGEV, A. : Caesarea Maritima 4, p. 17
SCHUBERT, KURT : *King Herod : Portrait of Ruler,* by A. Schalit 3, p. 22
SEMKOWSKI, A. : *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll,* by E.Y. Kutscher 2, p. 27
STOLZ, BENEDICT : The Benedictines in the Holy Land 2, p. 11, 3, p. 17
VISEUR, ABBE ADOLPHE : *Nea Sion 1959* 4, p. 36
WACHTEL, ALEXANDER : The Church of the Nazarene in Israel 4, p. 23
WARDI, CHAIM : The Monastery of the Cross 1, p. 20
WARDI, CHAIM : In Quest of a Tomb 4, p. 25
YADIN, YIGAEL : The Newly-found Bar Kochba Letters 3, p. 12

READERS of this journal often send enquiries regarding the availability of tourist facilities in connection with projected visits and pilgrimages. We therefore call attention to "A Tourist Companion to Israel", published by the Israel Government Tourist Corporation, 100 King George Avenue, Jerusalem.

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